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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Historical Research)

The Ch'ing Government's Struggle To Quell Dzungar Rebellions and Resist Tsarist Russian Aggression - by Ch'ing Ssu 1

Lies Cannot Change History - In refutation of shameless lies of the Soviet revisionists tampering with the history of our Dzungar tribe 19

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The Ch'ing Government's Struggle To Quell Dzungar Rebellions and Resist Tsarist Russian Aggression

by

Ch'ing Ssu (庆 思)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 2, April 20, 1976)

The Manchus, who rose from China's Northeast region, founded the Ch'ing dynasty in mid-17th century. In the course of unifying the whole of China, the Ch'ing regime waged a long and violent struggle against divisive, secessionist forces. A handful of Dzungar nobles, headed by Galdan, Tsewangrabdan and Amursana, were representatives of the national splittist forces occupying the Northwest region of our country. Supported by tsarist Russia, they stirred up trouble in the frontier region, carried out divisive, secessionist activities, betrayed the motherland, did harm to the people of all nationalities, and seriously undermined the unity of the country. To maintain unity, prevent national splits and defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Ch'ing government, having suppressed the "three border feudatory states" and unified the central plains regions and Taiwan, and with the support of the people of all nationalities, waged a struggle against the tsarist Russian-supported divisive forces of Dzungar nobles that lasted as long as 70-80 years.

I

The Dzungars are part of our Oirat Mongols* and descended from the Wa-las of Ming times.** In Ch'ing times, the Oirats were also called "Wei-la-t'es" or "O-lu-t'es."*** A nomadic tribe, they inhabited a large area east and south of Lake Balkhash and for a long time led a life of "seeking water and grass, having no cities,"+ "growing no cereals but engaging solely in herding animals."++

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* Ch'eng Mu-heng (程 穆 衡), A Study of Dzungaria, Vol. 1: "The Dzungars are a tribe in Northwest,...the generic name of which under the present dynasty is Oirat...Dzungars being part of it."

** Po Ming (博 明), Notes from West Study, Vol. 1 "Wa-la": "The Wa-las recorded in History of Ming are now called Oirat."

*** See Hung Chün (洪 钧), "Supplement to Research on Translations in History of Yuan." K'o Shao-t'ai (柯 劭 忞), New History of Yuan and Chang Mu (张 穆), Nomadic Life in Mongolia.

\+ Map of Western Frontier Region, Vol. 1, "Notes on Map" 1: "Explanations on Complete Map of Western Frontier Region."

++ Ch'un Yuan (椿 园), History of Western Frontier Region, Vol. 5: "Brief History of the Rebellion and Fall of Dzungars."

Roughly toward the latter part of the 16th century the Oirat Mongols were divided into four major parts: Choros or Dzungar* leading a nomadic life on the Ili River basin east of Lake Balkhash and north of T'ien Shan; Derbet, leading a nomadic life on both banks of the Irtysh River; Khoshut leading a nomadic life in the Urumchi area; and Torgut leading a nomadic life in the Tarbakhatai area. Although the four Oirat tribes "led a nomadic life separately"** and "each tribe managed its own affairs,"*** a loose alliance was nevertheless formed, called "Derben-Wei-la-t'e."+ In this alliance of the four Oirat tribes there was a common organization known as "Yurkan" (namely, alliance congress) which served to reconcile contradictions between the leaders of the tribes, strengthen their rule over their own people and organize resistance to external aggression. The "Darka" in the "Yurkan" was the head of the alliance of the four Oirat tribes. From the late 16th century to the early 17th, the "Darka" of the "Yurkan" was Baibagos (拜巴噶斯), leader of the Khoshut tribe.

In the early 17th century the Dzungars under the rule of its leader Batur Khungtaiji gradually increased their influence and contradictions within the alliance became increasingly acute. In about 1627-28 (1st year of Ch'ung Chen of Ming, and 1st and 2nd years of T'ien Ts'ung, Huangt'aichi of Ch'ing) the leader of the Torgut tribe, Horlek (和鄂尔勒克), discriminated against by the Dzungars, took more than 50,000 tents of his subjects over a long distance to the O-chi-le (now the Volga) basin to herd their animals.++ Not long after that, Turabaig (图鲁拜琥 or

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* The ancestors of the Dzungars were surnamed Choros. Hence the tribe was also called the Choros tribe (See Chang Mu: Nomadic Life in Mongolia, Vol. XI "General Remarks on Oirat Mongols"). Choros was also called Dzungar because the tribe lived in the extreme left part of the four tribes. In Mongolian "'Dzun' means left... and 'gar' is hand" (Hsü-tso-chia-chü 须佐嘉橘, "Research on West Mongol Tribes," published by Krulun (克鲁伦) Research, pp. 4-5). Hence "Dzungar" means "left wing" in Mongolian.

** Teng T'ing-chen (邓廷桢), Brief Description of Mongol Tribes.

*** Ch'i Yün-shih (祁韵士), Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 9: "Brief History of Oirats, 1."

\+ "Derben" means "four" in Mongolian. "Derben Wei-la-t'e" means "Alliance of four Wei-la-t'e tribes."

++ For details see Ch'i Yün-shih, Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 9: "Brief History of Oirats, 1"; Chang Mu, Nomadic Life in Mongolia, Vol. 14, "General Remarks on New and Old Torgut Tribe of Oirat Mongols," and General History of Mongolian People's Republic (Chinese translation), p. 157.

Kushih khan), younger brother of Baibagos, leader of the Khoshut tribe, clashed with Batur Khungtaiji. In the event, Turabaig also took his subjects away from their original pasture lands in Urumchi area and moved southeastward to the Tsinghai region. Taking advantage of the internal unrest in Tibet at the time, he entered Tibet and had "his son stationed there."* By then the alliance of the four Oirat tribes was basically dissolved.

Following the increasing strength of the Dzungars, Batu Khungtaiji, while maintaining his vassalage toward the Ch'ing central government, continued expanding his influence and waged predatory wars against his neighboring Turkic tribes of Kazakh, Kolkhoz, and Nokai,** until the Kazakh and other tribes "looked up to Batur Khungtaiji in all matters and obeyed him."*** The Dzungar tribe gradually became a powerful secessionist force in our Northwest region. Particularly after Batur's son Galdan usurped the ruling power of the Dzungar tribe, the Dzungar separatist forces, encouraged and supported by tsarist Russia, expanded even more malignantly. They attacked neighboring tribes, started rebellions, and became a reactionary force that undermined the unity of the state and created national divisions. The many rebellions started by the Dzungar forces in the early years of Ch'ing were all closely related to tsarist Russian aggression against China.

II

"Russia is without doubt a country with aggressive designs."+ Successive tsars dreamed of "founding a great Slav empire from the Elbe to China and from the Adriatic Sea to the Arctic Ocean."++

After Tsar Ivan IV (1533-1584), Russia, pushed by its own big serf-owners and big merchants, began frantically to carry out external aggressive expansion. While waging wars against Poland, Lithuania and Sweden in Europe, it actively embarked on aggression against the East. After the mid-17th century, tsarist Russian forces, crossing Lake

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* Ch'i Yün-shih (祁韵士), Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 9: "Brief History of Oirats, 1."

** Huo-wo-ssu (霍渥斯), History of Mongols, 1880 London edition, Vol. 1, p. 618; Ho-t'ien-ch'ing (和田清), Study of History of East Asia, "Chapter on Mongols" (Japanese edition), pp. 884-885.

*** Badrei (巴德雷), Russia, Mongolia and China, 1919 London edition, Vol. 2, p. 38.

\+ Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 9, p. 18.

++ Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XI, p. 223.

Baikal and the Outer Khingan Mountains, intruded into the Heilung River basin of our Northeast region, while stretching their aggressive claws into the Mongol regions of North and West China.

During times of late Ming and early Ch'ing, the Mongols in our country were divided into three major parts. Apart from the Oirat Mongols west of the Gobi, there were also Mongols south of the Gobi and the Khalkha Mongols north of the Gobi. The Mongols south of the Gobi occupied what is now the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and were under the rule of the Manchus even before the latter entered Shanhaikuan. The Khalkha Mongols north of the Gobi, situated north of the South-Gobi Mongols, were again divided into three parts: Zasagtu, Tushetu, and Setsen. In succession they pledged allegiance to the Ch'ing government and paid tribute to it after the founding of the Ch'ing dynasty. The various tribes of the Oirat Mongols west of the Gobi also recognized the rule of the Ch'ing central government one after another. Thus it can be seen that the Mongol regions in our country were once more unified under the rule of the Ch'ing central government. But out of the needs of the colonial interests of its landlord class and bourgeoisie, tsarist Russia, then in a period of capitalist primitive accumulation and initial formation of an all-Russian market, had long ago regarded our Mongol regions as its aggressive target. The Oirat Mongols who lived in our northwest frontier region became an ever more important target.

Tsarist Russia's aggression against Oirat Mongols took the form of armed conquest or "appeasement." Realizing that "these warlike (Oirat) Mongols were quite at home in the grasslands" and "could not be conquered by force," the tsarist aggressors could not but abandon "the tactic of armed invasion and control from cities and forts, and adopted instead the method of sending diplomatic envoys."* By means of threats and inducements, they tried to lure the leaders of Oirat tribes "to change their nationality to Russian" in an effort to realize their criminal scheme of dividing our country and seizing our land. This even Zlatkin, a writer in the pay of the Soviet revisionists and author of History of the Dzungar Khanate, could not deny. He said: "The Russian authorities tried their utmost to turn the Weilat princes and rulers into Russian vassals and subjects by peaceful means and so turn the people who belonged to these princes and rulers into subjects who would pay Russia tax in kind and the areas inhabited by them into Russian territory."**

There are abundant records of the tsarist government's sending envoys to our Oirat Mongol region to carry out aggressive activities from

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* All quotations above can be seen in Joseph Sebes (塞比斯), "Introduction to Diary of Fr. Hsu Jih-sheng" in Jesuit Hsü Jih-sheng's Diary on Nerchinsk Negotiations Between China and Russia, 1961 Rome edition.

** Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate, 1964 Moscow edition, p. 168.

the earth 17th century onward with a view to inducing the Oirat leaders to yield to them. From 1607 to 1616, the tsar on many occasions sent out delegations to our Oirat Mongol region for the purpose of inducing its leaders to pledge their allegiance to Russia. In 1623 the tsar again sent several emissaries headed by one Vorkov from Ufa to the Derbert tribe to engage in underhand activities.* The increasing strength of the Dzungars attracted even more attention of tsarist Russia. During the rule of Sengge (son of Batur Khungtaiji and elder brother of Galdan), the tsarist government continued to send envoys to the Dzungar tribe to demand that Sengge yield to the tsar. Sengge sternly refused and lodged a strong protest against Russia's kidnapping of his subjects.**

While carrying out aggression against the Dzungar region, tsarist Russia also vigorously advanced toward the east. Beginning from the first half of the early 17th century, tsarist Russia continued to send emissaries to the Altan khan and Setsen khan to induce them to secede from the motherland and pledge allegiance to Russia. Moreover, it sent one "exploration team" after another to the Khalkha Mongol region east of Lake Baikal. By the latter half of the 17th century tsarist Russian aggressive forces had already penetrated deep into the Khalkha Mongol region. They directly intruded into the area under the rule of Tushetu khan in the Selenga River basin and established the Selenginsk and Irkutsk strongholds. Tsarist Russia's invasion of Khalkha met with protests from the Tushetu khan and armed resistance from the Mongol people. Also, at this time the tsarist Russian aggressive forces that invaded the Heilung River area also met with counter strikes from the people of various nationalities in the Northeast and opposition from the Ch'ing government, so that for a time the eastward advancing forces of tsarist Russia were effectively checked by China. To reverse the setback in their eastward thrust, the tsarist Russian aggressors then decided to give active support to the secessionist forces of the Dzungars and colluded with and instigated Galdan to make trouble deliberately in Tushetu khan's area in an attempt to provoke national divisive rebellions so as to tie down the Ch'ing government's armed forces resisting tsarist Russian invasion. In his report to the tsarist Foreign Office, Golovin, a tsarist aggressive element sent to China to conduct negotiations on the border question, recommended the formation of an alliance between tsarist Russia and the Dzungars. He suggested "sending a delegation from Tobolsk to see Oirat khan (namely, Galdan--writer).+ Golovin, "in order to win the sympathy of the Mongol feudal lords and Galdan Boshugtu, decided to present his credentials and gifts from the tsar to them."++ With the tsar's encouragement

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* Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate, 1964 Moscow edition, p. 144.

** Ibid., pp. 219-220.

\+ Edited by the Far East Institute of Soviet Academy of Sciences et al: Russo-Chinese Relations in the 17th Century, 1972 Moscow edition, Vo. 2, p. 18.

++ Shastina, Relations and Exchange of Envoys Between Russia and Mongolia in the 17th Century, 1958 Moscow edition, p. 146.

and support, Galdan attacked the Khalkha Mongols even more frenziedly. A large-scale rebellion to split the motherland broke out under the instigation of tsarist aggressive forces.

Galdan, the 6th son of Batur Khungtaiji, was a lama in Tibet in his early years. In 1653 (10th year of Shun Chih) Batur Khungtaiji died and his son, Sengge, succeeded him. Not long afterward, a power struggle broke out among the sons of the late Batur Khungtaiji, and Galdan, learning this, returned from Tibet. He seized the ruling power in 1671 (10th year of K'ang Hsi) and vigorously carried out expansion against neighboring tribes. In 1677 (16th year of K'ang Hsi) he attacked the Khoshut tribe in Tsinghai "and forced the Wei-la-t'es to take orders from him."* Then he turned against the Huis in southern Sinkiang. In 1678 (17th year of K'ang Hsi) he attacked Hui cities south of the T'ien Shan range, "had all khans who were descendants of Yuan rulers rounded up and resettled north of the mountains, and the Hui tribes and the Kazakhs became his subjects."** Having seized southern Sinkiang, Galdan cruelly exploited and looted the local people of all nationalities. He regarded them as servants and slaves, "requisitioning supplies from them at regular intervals, ordering them about as he wishes."*** He forced them to "pay rent and taxes,"+ and sent them to Ili to do agricultural work while "occupying their land and using it for animal farms, so that the Huis (meaning the Uighurs--writer) were insufferably harassed."++ As a result of Galdan's tyrannical rule, production declined in the Sinkiang region and the people could hardly make a living. At this time Galdan was more powerful than ever. "More than one million of his men were armed with bows and arrows, and his camels, horses, cattle and sheep roamed all over the valleys." Galdan's ambitions also grew with his strength. "Relying on his might, he carried out predatory raids everywhere."+++ While attacking the Khalkha Mongols, he went further and pointed his spearhead at the Ch'ing central government.

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* Ch'i Yün-shih, Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 9, "Brief History of Oirats, 1."

** Wei Yuan, Sheng Wu Chi / Holy Wars /, Vol. 4, "Ch'ien Lung's Pacification of the Huis in Sinkiang."

*** "Map of Western Frontier Region," Vol. 35: "Customs."

\+ Ibid., Vol. 18: "Text of Imperial Inscription on Tablet at Yarkand on Pacification of Hui Tribes."

++ Ch'un Yuan, What I Heard and Saw in the Western Regions, Vol. 2.

+++ Translated by Ao-fu-ho (敖福合), Strategy of Imperial Personal Expedition Against Galdan, a manuscript.

To realize his design of annexing Khalkha and further his rebellions, Galdan, lured by the tsarist government, embarked on the criminal road of surrendering to tsarist Russia in betrayal of his own motherland. From 1674 (13th year of K'ang Hsi) to 1683 (22nd year of K'ang Hsi), Galdan sent emissaries to Russia on conspiratorial missions almost every year,* "in an effort to form a military alliance with Russia and secure Russian aid in the form of 'troops and weapons'."** In 1688 (27th year of K'ang Hsi), on the eve of the signing of the "Sino-Russian Nerchinsk treaty" Galdan, "declaring that Russian troops were coming to his aid,"*** led a force of 30,000 men from Hang-ai Shan in a large-scale offensive on the Khalkha tribe.

Just when Galdan attacked the Khalkha tribe, the Khalkha Mongols were resisting the invading force led by tsarist Russian aggressor Golovin in the Selenga area. The gangsters were forced to retreat within the walls of Selenginsk fort and dared not come out. But as a result of Galdan's attack on the Khalkha tribe from the west, Tushetu khan had to withdraw his forces besieging Selenginsk, allowing the tsarist aggressive force to extricate itself from an embarrassing situation. According to tsarist Russian records, Galdan's attack on the Khalkha Mongol tribe was launched in compliance with an order from the tsar. "Galdan was aided in the fighting by a large force of Russian troops and a huge quantity of firearms and cannon."+ Galdan's seditious force "acted jointly" with the tsarist Russian troops.++ Thus it can be seen that the tsarist aggressors took a direct part in Galdan's rebellion.

To thoroughly swallow up the Khalkha Mongols and further increase his seditious forces, Galdan even more shamelessly sold himself to tsarist Russia. In the year following the signing of the Nerchinsk treaty (1690, 29th year of K'ang Hsi), Galdan secretly sent Darkhan tsai-sang as his emissary with a letter to see Gisrengsky (吉斯良斯基), governor of Irkutsk, and Golovin. Darkhan tsai-sang asked the tsarist Russian side to send an army to join Galdan's army in a continued attack on Tushetu khan's

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* Written by Kann (French) and translated by Chiang Tsai-hua (江载华), History of Early Sino-Russian Relations, p. 73.

** Shastina, Relations and Exchange of Envoys Between Russia and Mongolia in the 17th Century, p. 162.

*** Wei Yuan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 3: "K'ang Hsi's Personal Expedition Against the Dzungars."

\+ Edited by the Far East Institute of Soviet Academy of Sciences et al: Russo-Chinese Relations in the 17th Century, 1972 Moscow edition, Vol. 2, p. 360.

++ Ibid., p. 307.

forces.* In his letter to Golovin, Galdan asked the Russian general to lead an aggressive force "to an appointed place as soon as possible, so we may fight side by side."** To attain the above objective, Galdan did not hesitate to sell out the motherland's sacred territory. In his instructions to his emissary, Galdan said: "The fort area of Albazin (namely, Yaksa--writer) originally belonged to the Mongols, not to Bogada Khan (meaning the Ch'ing emperor--writer), and it is he--Boshugtu Khan--who rule the Mongols and the area. If His Imperial Majesty the Tsar wishes to build a fort here, Boshugtu Khan is willing to offer the land to him."*** In his reply to Galdan, Golovin "pledges corresponding action by Russian forces in support of the Oirats' attack on Tushetu khan."+ He also sent Kibilev (基比列夫) to accompany Darkhan tsai-sang on his way back to see Galdan, "to continue talks on the possibility of joint action against Tushetu khan and his supporters"+ and plot expanding the rebellion. Galdan's treasonous activities reached a degree of utter madness, while tsarist Russian aggressive activities were more overt and blatant.

Instigated and supported by tsarist Russia, Galdan's reactionary flame soared. In June 1690, under the pretext of pursuing the Khalkha tribe, he launched a rebellion against the Ch'ing central government. The rebels drove deep into Ujumchin in Inner Mongolia. With tsarist Russian support, a large-scale national splittist rebellion broke out.

The Ch'ing government had long been prepared for Galdan's rebellion. At the critical moment when it was suppressing the "three feudatory border states" in the south and resisting tsarist Russia's intrusion in the Northeast, the Ch'ing government kept a close watch on the growth and harassment of Galdan's secessionist forces in the Northwest. As early as 1678 (17th year of K'ang Hsi) the Ch'ing government already sent agents to the Kansu area to "gather information about Galdan taiji of the Oirat tribe and make regular reports."++ It also ordered the garrison commanders of the region to "reaffirm their oaths of loyalty and not to harass the people," so as to "tighten defenses."+++ When Galdan

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* Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate, p. 280.

** Edited by the Far East Institute of Soviet Academy of Sciences et al: Russo-Chinese Relations in the 17th Century, 1972 Moscow edition, Vol. 2, p. 623.

*** Ibid., p. 30.

\+ Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate, p. 281.

++ Strategy of Suppression of Three Rebels, Vol. 36.

+++ Strategy of Imperial Personal Expedition to North Desert, Vol. 1.

attacked the Khalkha tribe, the Ch'ing government immediately ordered Fu-ch'uan, Prince Yü (K'ang Hsi's elder brother), "to prepare defenses."* It also ordered Feiyanku (费扬古) and other generals to move their troops to "strategic areas" outside Changchiak'ou "and there await further orders."** K'ang Hsi had realized long ago that the ambitionist Galdan, "with his great power and presumptuous behavior," would "inevitably eye the central regions."*** Accordingly, he resolutely favored "early preparations"+ against Galdan's rebellion for separation.

When the Ch'ing government learned that the tsarist aggressors and Galdan conspired to bring about an anti-Ch'ing military alliance and that Galdan had asked Russia for "20,000 troops," K'ang Hsi immediately summoned the Russian envoys Girikuri (吉里古里) and Ifanich (伊法尼齐), who were then in Peking, and righteously pointed out to them: "Forced by internal strife, and having consumed all his food and nowhere to go, Galdan has made predatory raids against the interior. Now he declares that he is joining forces with you in a joint attack on Khalkha. The Khalkhas have pledged allegiance to this court. If you are taken in by his words, you will be renouncing your words of honor and starting a war."++ This serious warning from K'ang Hsi to the tsarist aggressors effectively revealed the tsarist government's plot of overtly negotiating for peace but covertly aiding rebellion.

In 1690 (29th year of K'ang Hsi) Galdan, acting under the pretext of pursuing Khalkhas, led a rebel force of 20,000 men to cross Hulunch'in to drive south. In the first encounter the Ch'ing army was beaten, and Galdan drove deep to Ulanbudang (now in the area of Ch'ih-feng) about 700 li from Peking. K'ang Hsi personally went to the front to organize a counter-attack, and routed Galdan's rebel army there. Galdan won a respite through a ruse and fled back to Khobdo. There, while gathering the remnants of his force for another strike, he sent an emissary to Moscow to beg tsarist Russia for continued support. The tsarist government sent someone to Galdan with the promise that Russia would "send 1,000 musketeers and carriage-drawn artillery to the eastern border of Kerulun in his aid when

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* True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 136.

** Strategy of Imperial Personal Expedition to North Desert, Vol. 4.

*** Translated by Ao-fu-ho (敖福合), Strategy of Imperial Personal Expedition Against Galdan, a manuscript.

\+ Important Acts of K'ang Hsi, Vol. 21, "Military Expeditions."

++ True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 146.

green grass comes out again."* In 1695 (34th year of K'ang Hsi) Galdan again led a cavalry force of 30,000 men, travelled down the Kerulun River, and took Bayan Ulan, declaring that he had "borrowed 60,000 musketeers from Russia and will invade the region south of the Gobi on a large scale."** Thus Galdan once more kindled the flames of rebellion with Russian support.

So in 1696 (35th year of K'ang Hsi) K'ang Hsi promptly organized the second military campaign to quell the rebellion. The Ch'ing troops advanced in three prongs, by eastern, western and central routes, and a time was set for a simultaneous strike at the enemy. The Ch'ing army on the western flank encountered Galdan's rebel force at Chao-mo-to (昭莫多), and a violent battle ensued.

Chao-mo-to (Mongolian for a big forest) was situated south of the Kentei Mountains, east of the Han Mountains and north of the Tula River. It was a vast plain and had been a battlefield north of the Gobi since time immemorial. Here the Ch'ing troops, fresh and vigorous, waited for a tired force. Luring the enemy in deep, they surrounded Galdan's rebel force in a ring. All officers and men of the Ch'ing army "dismounted and walked on foot, then mounted their horses at the sound of the bugle" to attack.** Galdan's rebel force advanced to fight. The Ch'ing army had the "advantage of fighting from a height." They attacked from vantage points on high ground alternately with bows and arrows and muskets, and then advanced behind rattan shields.** A violent battle developed. From noon to dusk, the Ch'ing troops fought a bloody battle, finally routing the rebels. Galdan "escaped with only a few mounted soldiers," while more than 1,000 rebels surrendered to the Manchus after trying to escape.***

The Chao-mo-to campaign was a decisive one in which the Ch'ing troops defeated Galdan's rebel force and basically annihilated it. Subsequently, Galdan and remnants of his force roamed about in the Pamir basin and became a roving band of bandits at the end of their tether. Galdan's base at Ili was already seized by his nephew Tsewangrabdan when he went to attack the Khalkhas, and his "Hui tribes, Tsinghai and Kazakhs were isolated and turned their backs against him."** However, Galdan still continued to rebel to split the motherland and attempted a deathbed struggle.

K'ang Hsi decided not to give Galdan a breathing spell. So in the year after the battle of Chao-mo-to, he immediately organized the third

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* Strategy of Imperial Personal Expedition to North Desert, Vol. 24.

** Wei Yuan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 3: "K'ang Hsi's Personal Expedition Against the Dzungars."

*** True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 171.

military action. At this time, Galdan's remnant force numbered only 500-600 men. Without food and attacked by the Ch'ing troops, they surrendered one after another. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, all running dogs dependent on foreign aggressive forces, "no matter how vigorously they act for a time, will always find their backers unreliable."* Galdan, this ambitionist and traitor who staged a divisive rebellion with the aid of the tsarist Russian aggressive forces,now lost his master's interest in him. He "wanted to go north to Russia, but Russia refused to take him."** With nowhere to go, Galdan knew that his end had come, and killed himself by taking poison. The rebellion to split the motherland staged by Galdan with tsarist Russia's support was finally quelled by the Ch'ing government.

III

Although Galdan's revolt was put down, tsarist Russia did not cease giving support to the divisive forces of Dzungar nobles in rebellious activities. In the last year of K'ang Hsi and during the reign of Yung Cheng Tsewangrabdan and his son Galdantseren again colluded with tsarist Russia in continuing rebellion.

Tsewangrabdan was the eldest son of Sengge. After Galdan seized the power to rule the Dzungars, Tsewangrabdan fled to Turfan with over 5,000 of his men and "sent an envoy with an offer to surrender"*** to the Ch'ing court. When Galdan attacked the Khalkhas and staged his revolt, Tsewangrabdan seized the opportunity to return to Galdan's base area at Ili, where he "gathered his father's former followers as well as what remained of Galdan's subjects, and again formed a tribe."+ Having occupied Ili, Tsewangrabdan on the one hand "paid homage and tribute" to the Ch'ing government, pretending to be willing to "serve it to his utmost ability;"++ on the other hand, he ceaselessly expanded his separatist forces in preparation for a revolt. In the last year of K'ang Hsi's reign Tsewangrabdan attacked Hami and marched into Tibet, killing La-tsang khan and starting a rebellion. In 1720 (59th year of K'ang Hsi) the Ch'ing government sent a force into Tibet to expel the rebels, hereby stabilizing the situation there.

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* Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, one volume ed., pp. 732-733.

** Wei Yuan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 3: "K'ang Hsi's Personal Expedition Against the Dzungars."

*** True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 174.

\+ Map of Western Frontier Region, Vol. 1A, "T'ien Chang" 1, "Brief History of Whole Tribe of Dzungar."

++ True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 182.

During Tsewangrabdan's rule of the Dzungars, tsarist Russia did not change its policy of aggression against them. At that time Russia was ruled by Peter I (1682-1725). "A sovereign who gave his successors various guidelines for aggression,"* Peter I led tsarist Russia onto the path of struggle for world hegemony. Peter and his successors, while starting a series of aggressive wars against their European neighbors, actively pushed a policy of expansion in the East. In particular, the widely spread news that our Northwest region was rich in minerals whetted Peter's appetite even more. As a result, the tsarist government took "even more direct action"** against our Dzungar region.

In 1715 (54th year of K'ang Hsi) Peter I despatched a 3,000-man "expeditionary force" headed by Lt-Col. Bukholts to build footholds along the banks of the Irtysh River.*** Gagarin, governor of Siberia, wrote to Tsewangrabdan "promising him that if he refrains from interfering with this force, he will get aid and moral support in the future."+ The tsarist aggressive force was repulsed by the counter-strike in self-defense by the military and civilian population of Dzungaria. However, the tsarist Russian aggressors did not give up. In 1720 (59th year of K'ang Hsi) an aggressive force of 440 men headed by Likhalev (利哈列夫) set out from Tobolsk and intruded into Lake Chai-sang and "built a fort" by the shore of the lake.++ Meanwhile, Tsewang-rabdan, whose rebellious forces in Tibet having been expelled by the Ch'ing army, turned to tsarist Russia for help. He asked tsarist Russia to conclude an anti-Ch'ing "defense alliance"+++ in return for freedom of transit for the tsarist expeditionary force through his territory. Thereupon, Peter I sent Venhuofsky (温闊甫斯基) to Dzungaria "to "persuade Tsewangrabdan to cede some of his territory, so that a continuous line of forts may be built on this territory to join the front posts with

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* Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 12, p. 637.

** Written by Kann (French) and translated by Chiang Tsai-hua (江载华), History of Early Sino-Russian Relations, p. 74.

*** Ibid., pp. 77-78; Maigol Liukin (迈可尔·刘金), Russia in Central Asia, 1963 London edition, p. 16.

\+ Written by Kann (French) and translated by Chiang Tsai-hua, History of Early Sino-Russian Relations, p. 77.

++ Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate, p. 347.

+++ Written by Kann (French) and translated by Chiang Tsai-hua, History of Early Sino-Russian Relations, p. 80.

Siberia and thus protect the whole journey of the mine prospecting team."* Peter I told Venhuofsky that if Tsewangrabdan signed a treaty with Russia as a vassal, "Russia will take a tough attitude toward China and may even hold a military demonstration."** Tsarist Russia's conspiracy with Tsewangrabdan and its aggressive acts of naked interference in China's internal affairs drew strong protests from the Ch'ing government. In 1722 (61st year of K'ang Hsi) the Ch'ing government summoned Lange (郎克), the tsarist diplomatic representative in Peking, questioned him, and then expelled him.

Tsewangrabdan died in 1727 (5th year of Yung Cheng). His son Galdantseren caused disturbances repeatedly and gave shelter to Lobsangdanchin (罗卜藏丹津), chieftain of the Khoshut rebel bandits of Tsinghai.*** In 1732 (10th year of Yung Cheng) Galdantseren, starting a revolt, entered the territory of the Khalkhas, and attacked the Sain Noyon tribe along the Tamir River, "capturing all children, women and animals,"+ but he was then defeated by Prince Ofutseren (额驸策凌) of the Sain Noyons. Galdantseren fled back to Ili and sent an envoy to beg for peace. The Ch'ing government, thinking that the Dzungar rebels "had fled far away and would not dare to come again,"++ negotiated peace with them, thus allowing the Dzungar separatist forces to continue occupying the Northwest region.

It must be pointed out that Galdantseren's rebellion also took place under the instigation of the tsarist Russian aggressors. While Galdantseren was attacking the Khalkhas, tsarist agent Ugliumov (乌格留莫夫) quietly sneaked into Dzungaria and stayed "for nearly half a year along the Ili River basin and its tributaries,"+++ all the time conspiring with Galdantseren.

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* Written by Kan (French) and translated by Chiang Tsai-hua, History of Early Sino-Russian Relations, pp. 80-81.

** Ibid., p. 80.

*** Lobsangdanchin was a grandson of Ku-shih khan. He started a rebellion in Tsinghai in 1723 (1st year of Yung Cheng). After his defeat by a Ch'ing expeditionary force, he fled to the Dzungars. For details see Wei Yuan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 3, and Ch'i Yun-shih, Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. XI.

\+ Ch'i Yun-shih, Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. XI, "Brief History of Oirats, 3."

++ Wei Yuan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 3: "Yung Cheng's Two Expeditions Against the Oirats."

+++ Krupatkin (克鲁巴特金), Russo-Chinese Questions.

After the death of Galdantseren, the Dzungar feudal nobles warred against one another in a 10-year internal struggle for the khanate. Finally the Dzungar noble Davachi (达瓦齐) won the power to rule the Dzungars with the support of Amursana, a noble of the Khuit (辉特) tribe.*

Amursana was a tricky and wily ambitionist. His original idea was to usurp the ruling power of the Dzungars by taking advantage of the internal struggle among the Dzungar nobles and through his support for Davachi. But under the tyrannical rule of Davachi, a man of extreme cruelty, the Dzungar people "lost faith and fell apart."** Amursana, always coveting the khanate, took the opportunity to attack Davachi. But Davachi struck back and defeated Amursana. The latter then took his men to surrender to the Manchus.

In light of the prevailing situation in Dzungaria at that time, Ch'ien Lung, the supreme Ch'ing ruler, concluded that the suppression of the separatist forces of Dzungaria was "a job left unfinished"*** by emperors K'ang Hsi and Yung Cheng and that "so long as Dzungaria is not pacified, unrest will persist."+ Accordingly he decided to take advantage of the internal strife of the Dzungars and send a punitive expedition to suppress the forces of rebellion which had been occupying the Northwest region for a long time.

Amursana joined the Ch'ing government forces in their advance on Ili. After the pacification of Ili, the Ch'ing government originally intended to "create four khans" for the Dzungars "with each ruling his own subjects,"++ so as to weaken the separatist forces of the Dzungars. "It does not intend to appoint Amursana alone as the sole ruler of Dzungaria."+++ But Amursana's object in surrendering to the Ch'ing court was to get rid of his political enemy Davachi with the help of the Ch'ing army and thus realize his political ambition of "becoming the chief taiji of the four tribes and

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* Khuits originally belonged to the Derbet tribe. After the departure of the Torgut tribe, the Khuits became one of the four Oirat tribes. See Chang Mu, Nomadic Life in Mongolia, Vol. XI: "General Remarks on Oirat Mongols."

** Strategy of Pacification of Dzungars, main ed., Vol. 9.

*** True Records of Kao Tsung of Ch'ing, Vol. 489.

\+ Ibid., Vol. 12.

++ Ibid., Vol. 481.

+++ Ibid., Vol. 7.

the dictator of the western frontier regions."* Thus, after he occupied Ili, he "confidently regarded himself as the chief khan,"** carrying out massacres and looting at will, acting dictatorially, and sending people out everywhere to vigorously expand his own separatist forces.

In 1755 (20th year of Ch'ien Lung) Amursana openly staged a revolt. In 1757 (22nd year of Ch'ien Lung) the Ch'ing government sent an expeditionary force to attack the rebels on a large scale. At that time an epidemic of small pox broke out in Dzungaria which caused innumerable casualties among the Dzungars. The Ch'ing troops drove deep into Dzungaria. The rebels were routed, and Amursana fled to tsarist Russia.

Amursana's escape posed a potential threat to the Ch'ing government. As Ch'ien Lung said at the time: Amursana "will not be contented to remain in straits, but will make trouble and be a bane to the frontier region."*** Confirmation of the news of Amursana's flight to Russia caused greater anxiety in the Ch'ing government. Ch'ien Lung thought that "since Russia has given shelter to the rebel, it will surely make use of him."+ He therefore repeatedly made representations to the tsarist government, demanding the return of Amursana. The tsarist authorities, however, refused under all sorts of excuses, and even fabricated the rumor that Amursana had "drowned himself."++ Later, when Amursana died of illness, the tsarist government, strongly pressed by the Ch'ing government, reluctantly sent back his body to the Ch'ing authorities.

The tsarist government's granting of entry and asylum to the Dzungar rebel was an expression of its consistent promotion of a policy of aggression against our Dzungar region. During the rebellion for secession of Davachi and Amursana, tsarist Russia turned Orenburg and Tobolsk into centers for collecting intelligence on Dzungaria in order to keep watch on the developments there. "The governors of Siberia and Orenburg province made regular and frequent detailed reports on 'local conditions' to Petersburg. Appended to these reports were numerous reports sent from various areas and forts neighboring Dzungaria to the provincial government. These appendixes consisted of oral and written reports from local military officers, managerial staff, messengers, couriers, merchants and their managers as well as reports by people who passed through the region in transit or lived there for a long time and who were eye-witnesses to some

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* Wei Yuan, Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 4: "Ch'ien Lung's Suppression of Dzungars."

** Chao I (趙翼), History of Military Achievements of the Empire, Vol. 2: "Outline of Main Edition of Pacification of Dzungars."

*** True Records of Kao Tsung of Ch'ing, Vol. 547.

\+ Ibid, Vol. 555.

++ Ibid, Vol. 547.

incidents."* According to files of tsarist Russian archives, tsarist Russia attempted to buy over Davachi and Amursana, who took refuge in Kazakh while the Dzungar nobles were fighting one another in a struggle to gain the power to rule Dzungaria. In 1752 (17th year of Ch'ien Lung) the tsarist government instructed generals Nepuliuyev (涅普留耶夫) and Chevkailev (捷夫凯列夫) in Orenburg to "win over" Davachi by all means, "because he is now the man who will hopefully control all Dzungar nobles."** To this end, the Orenburg authorities at once sent agent Yakovlev (雅科夫列夫) to Kazakh to establish connections. After his revolt, Amursana once fled to Kazakh and the Orenburg authorities again sent its agent Kaskinov (卡斯金诺夫) to Kazakh to "secretly deliver to Amursana" a letter from the tsarist Russian authorities and "invite Amursana to come to Orenburg."*** In 1757 (22nd year of Ch'ien Lung), when Amursana's rebel force suffered defeat after defeat under the encircling attack of the Ch'ing army, the tsarist government assured Amursana of "a safe asylum in Russia" and guaranteed he would "be fed, clothed, and given other forms of relief to his complete satisfaction."+ Meanwhile, in a carriage of Amursana's force which was laden with supplies and which was intercepted by the Ch'ing army, four letters from tsarist Russian frontier authorities were found which persuaded Amursana to "join Russian citizenship."++ It thus can be seen that Amursana's rebellion was directly related to instigation by the tsarist Russian aggressors. These letters, in black and white, were ironclad criminal evidence of tsarist Russia's instigating the Dzungar separatist forces to dismember our country.

Having quelled Amursana's rebellion, the Ch'ing government in 1760 (25th year of Ch'ien Lung) sent an army into southern Sinkiang and suppressed the rebellions of the old and young Ho-chos of the Uighurs. The Ch'ing government created a general's post at Ili to rule the region south and north of the T'ien Shan range, thus reunifying our Northwest region.

IV

"Historical activity is a cause of the masses."+++ The victory won by the Ch'ing government in its campaign to suppress the Dzungar rebellion was principally a result of the initiative taken and the support

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* Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate, p. 427.

** Ibid., p. 435.

*** Ibid., p. 453.

\+ Ibid., p. 458.

\++ Ibid., p. 459.

\+++ Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2, p. 104.

given by the people of all nationalities. The Ch'ing government's war to suppress the national divisive rebellion of Dzungar nobles was a war to maintain the unity of the country and eliminate secession. Since the war conformed to the prevailing historical trend toward reunification of our country and to the common wishes of the people of all nationalities for unity and stability, it inevitably had their support. Facts showed that in the course of suppressing the rebellion, not only the Manchu and Han soldiers and civilians took a direct part in the fighting, but the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang, Mongolia, Tibet and Tsinghai also gave their support. For example, in the course of suppressing Galdan's rebellion, the Chahar army and people in Inner Mongolia "rendered the most valuable service."* The Khalkha Mongolian people actively "helped" the Ch'ing troops in "serving as guides, gathering information, grazing horses, digging wells and other matters."** In the campaign to drive Tsewangrabdan's rebel force out of Tibet, the Tibetan people who were forced by the rebels to take up arms against the Ch'ing army "held their muskets high and fired" but they "fired without balls" when they met the Ch'ing army.*** When the Ch'ing army marched into Ili, the people of all nationalities in Sinkiang, "leading sheep and carrying wine,"+ "welcomed the Ch'ing troops in the street"++ and also helped them capture rebel bandits. Davachi was captured by Huogis (霍吉斯), an Uighur of southern Sinkiang.

The Ch'ing government's suppression of the Dzungar rebellion had vital historical significance. It not only eliminated the national divisive and separatist forces of the Dzungar nobles and played an important role in the course of unifying the Northwest region, but also dealt an effective blow to the tsarist Russian aggressive designs on China and defended the independence and integrity of the country.

Today, the Soviet revisionist renegade group has completely inherited the mantle of the old tsars. To realize their ambition of territorial expansion, they have written a lot about the Ch'ing government's suppression of the Dzungar rebellion. They alleged that the Ch'ing government's suppression of the Dzungar rebellion was the "conquest" and "occupation" of Dzungaria by the "Manchuria Chinese conquerors." Such preposterous

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* True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 174.

** Ibid., Vol. 173.

*** Strategic of Pacification of Dzungars, Prior ed., Vol. 6.

\+ Ibid., Main ed., Vol. 12.

++ Ch'eng Mu-heng, Research on Dzungaria, Vol. 1.

remarks by the Soviet revisionist renegade group on China's internal problems all the more clearly reveal their wolfish ambition of aggression against our Sinkiang region.

The great leader Chairman Mao points out: "From the day the People's Republic of China was inaugurated, the various nationalities of China began to unite as a big family of fraternal love and cooperation capable of defeating any imperialist aggression and of building our motherland into a prosperous, strong country."* By engaging in subversive activities of creating national division in our frontier regions, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism will surely come to an even more shameful end than the old tsars!

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* Chairman Mao, "Reply to the Telegram of All Delegates to the Representative Conference of the People of All Nationalities in the Northwest on Resisting the US and Aiding Korea" (Dec. 12, 1951), see Jen-min Jih-pao, Dec. 14, 1951.

Lies Cannot Change History

- In refutation of shameless lies of the Soviet revisionists tampering with the history of our Dzungar tribe

by

the Mongolian History Research Room of the
University of Inner Mongolia

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 2, April 20, 1976)

The Soviet revisionist renegade group, who are rabidly anti-Chinese and anti-communist, who have inherited the mantle of the old tsars and who are pursuing a policy of expansion and aggression of big power hegemony, have openly altered and falsified the history of the Dzungar tribe of our country, shamelessly defending the crime of aggression of the old tsars and energetically manufacturing counter-revolutionary public opinion in preparation for further aggression against our Sinkiang region. In compliance with the wishes of the Soviet revisionist renegade group, Tikhvinskiy, a responsible officer of the Soviet revisionist Foreign Ministry, Zlatkin, a hireling writer, and others have in recent years published voluminous writings and books on the history of our Dzungar tribe in an attempt to alter the truth of history and deceive the public with fabrications. But lies cannot change history. Let us see the truth of this part of history.

I. The Dzungar Tribe Has Been a Member of United, Multinational China Since Yuan Times

The Soviet revisionist renegade group and their court writers have manufactured, with ulterior motives, the erroneous view of so-called "Chinese nation" and "non-Chinese nations." They declare: the Hans alone are Chinese, while the Manchus, Mongols and other minority nationalities of China are not Chinese.* They describe the Dzungar tribe of our Oirat Mongols as a sovereign state independent of China and even assert that the Dzungars "had no relation whatever" with China.** This is maliciously driving a wedge between the relations among the various nationalities in our country as well as a shameless distortion of China's history.

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* See the Soviet Government Statement of June 13, 1969; China's Modern History edited by Tikhvinskiy, 1972 Moscow edition.

** Zlatkin, History of the Dzungar Khanate, 1964 Moscow edition.

"China is a country with a large population formed of a union of many nationalities."* Besides the Han nationality, our country has dozens of minority nationalities. These fraternal nationalities all have a long history. The territory of the great motherland has been developed jointly by the people of our various nationalities. Through a long time of common struggle and common labor, our various nationalities have formed inseparably close relations with one another in the political, economic and cultural spheres. They are all indivisible component parts of the great Chinese nation.

The Oirat Mongols are a branch of our Mongol nationality, and the Dzungar tribe is a nomadic tribe of the Oirat Mongols. The Oirat Mongols have their own long history and inseparable flesh and blood relations with the various fraternal nationalities of the motherland.

In Yuan times Oirat was called "Wo-i-la" or "Wai-la." In Ming times it was called "Wa-la." The Manchus called it Oirat or "Wei-la-t'e." In the 12th century Wo-i-la was a half-nomadic, half-hunting large tribe divided into many branches. They lived in the forests north of the Mongolian grassland. The pastoral people there called them "Hainirkin," meaning "forest people."**

Toward the end of the 12th century a section of the Wo-i-las headed by Kutuhopichi were often active in an area south of the present-day Hsi-shih-hsi-te River basin.*** In 1206 Genghis Khan was chosen the Great Khan by all Mongol tribes. The following year he sent his eldest son Juchi to unify the "forest people" of the north. Kutuhopichi, at the head of the Wo-i-las, was the first to surrender. Moreover, he volunteered to serve as Juchi's guide and helped him unify more than ten tribes including Wan-wo-i-la, T'u-ma-t'i, Pu-li-ya-t'i (now Buriat Mongol), Pa-erh-hun (now Barqut), T'u-pa-ssu (now Tuva), and others. Genghis Khan raised the status of the

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* Selected Works of Mao Tset-ung, single volume ed., p. 585.

** Secret History of Yuan Dynasty, section 239; La-shih-t'e-ai-ting Collection of Histories (hereinafter referred to as Collection of Histories in footnotes), Russian translation, Vol. I, Book 1, p. 121.

*** According to sections 144 and 239 of Secret History of Yuan Dynasty, the Wo-i-las were at one time active deep in the forest areas of "Shih-shih-chi-shih" and "Shih-hei-shih-t'i" (hei should read shih), both of which referred to the present Hsi-shih-hsi-te River, one of the sources of the Ch'ien River. The "Record of Hsi-chia Yuan Tablet," of the time of Meng-ko Khan discovered south of Te-le-ko-erh-han Mountain and on the north bank of Te-le-ko-erh River, tells that these were really the sites of the summer camps of the Wai-la tribe.

Wo-i-la tribe to 4 ch'ien hu /thousand families/* still under the rule of Kutuhopichi. Genghis Khan married his daughter Sheshekan to Hutuhopichi's son T'o-luan-lo. Kutuhopichi's daughter Wo-wu-li-hai-mi-shih was the queen of Güyük, the third great khan of the Mongols.** Records show that for many generations the imperial family of Yuan and the Wo-i-a tribe regularly intermarried.*** Hence the rulers of the Wo-i-la tribe, like the nobles of Hung-chi-la, Wang-ku and I-ch'i-lieh tribes, were important families "related for generations" to the Yuan court and were "imperial kin like the princes." The Wo-i-la tribe, as a branch of the Mongol nationality, had been a member of our unified, multinational country since Yuan times.

The ruler of the Wo-i-la tribe was an important member of the central ruling group of the Yuan court. In 1236 (the 8th year of T'ai Tsung of Yuan) the Ogadai Khan "distributed the population of the various chou of the central plains to the princes, nobles, and Wo-lu-tuo,"+ and Princess Huo-lei, who married a member of the Wo-i-la tribe, also received nearly 10,000 families of the population of Yenanfu.++ Since Yenan was the feudal estate of the Wo-i-la nobles in the central plains, Yabuhan, ruler of the Wo-i-la tribe, was created Prince of Yenan when the Yuan emperor in the 14th century raised all spouses of princesses of the imperial family to the status of prince, and the princess he married was made Princess of Yenan.+++

In Yuan times the domain of the Wo-i-la tribe expanded greatly owing to the relationship of its rulers to the emperor. According to the Historical Collection of La-shih-t'e-ai-ting, the Wo-i-las extended their territory from Hsi-shih-hsi-te River northward and westward during the 13th and 14th centuries, occupying the area west of Lake Khuvsugul and the western part of T'ang-nu-wu-liang-hai. They also took the area on the upper reaches of the Ch'ien River, originally inhabited by the T'u-ma-t'is, thus becoming big seigniors of the northern frontier of Yuan entrusted with the important duty of "safeguarding the border region."

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* Collection of Histories, Vol. 1, Book 2, p. 269.

** Collection of Histories, Vol. 1, Book 1, p. 119; Book 2, p. 269. History of Yuan, Vol. 106, "Table of Empresses and Imperial Concubines."

*** History of Yuan, Vol. 109, "Table of Princesses."

\+ History of Yuan, Vol. 2, "History of T'ai Tsung."

++ History of Yuan, Vol. 95, "Economic Records; Annual Gifts," position of Princess Ta-lei ("Ta" should read "Huo").

+++ History of Yuan, Vol. 109, "Table of Princesses."

Apart from letting the Wo-i-la seigniors administer their own subjects and territory, the Yuan government also established an administrative organ at Ch'ien-chou in the Ch'ien River basin (now the middle and upper reaches of the Yenisei River) to exercise direct rule over the region. After unifying the Wo-i-la tribe, Genghis Khan had his troops stationed in the area with Ch'ien-chou as center.* Hundreds and thousands of Han people were resettled here, and "crafts bureaus"** were established which produced "good quality iron" and "cotton and silk clothes."*** In the time of Kubilai, or Shih Tsu of Yuan, a wan-hu-fu /a 10,000-household prefecture/ was established at Ch'ien-chou, and a military garrison and civilians under a Mongol wan-hu were stationed there.+ Later, I-lan-chou was established as the administrative center for the five tribes of Chi-li-chi-ssu, Wu-ssu, Han-ho-na, Ch'ien-chou and I-lan-chou. The Yuan government built government offices and warehouses here as well as a courier station. A high ranking official was regularly stationed here to exercise executive and administrative powers and collect taxes.++ Between the Wo-i-la tribe and Chi-li-chi-ssu tribe a courier road with six courier stations was built.+++ Thus the Ch'ien River basin became an administrative area under the direct jurisdiction of the Yuan court at that time. It formed part of the province north of the mountains.

Large-scale peasant uprisings in the final years of Yuan destroyed the Yuan rule. In January 1368 (1st year of Hung Wu) Chu Yuan-chang assumed the title of emperor and founded the Ming dynasty. Emperor Shun of Yuan, T'o-huan-t'e-mu-erh, fled Peking, but continued to occupy the Mongolian grassland in the north. This put an end to the nationwide rule of the Mongol aristocracy. At that time the population of the Wo-i-la tribe

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* History of Yuan, Vol. 151, "History of Chia-t'a-la-hun."

** History of Yuan, Vol. 63, "Geography"; History of Yuan, Vol. 167, "History of Liu Hao-li."

*** Western Journey of Taoist Ch'ang Ch'un, (Collection of Wang Ching-an), in which this is referred to as "Chien-chien Chou."

\+ History of Yuan, Vol. 193, "History of Po-pa," and Vol. 167, "History of Liu Hao-li," in both of which this is referred to as "Ch'ien-ch'ien Chou."

++ History of Yuan, Vol. 63, "Geography."

+++ History of Yuan, Vol. 16, "History of Shih Tsu": In the 9th month of the 28th year of Chih Yuan, "six courier stations were set up from Chi-li (t'ai) and (Chi-)shih to Wai-la."

grew to 40,000 families* and its territory was also expanded. Apart from Ch'ien-chou and other places in the Ch'ien River basin which it occupied under the Yuan regime, it went beyond the Altai Mountains to the west and extended all the way to the Irtysh River basin. The Wo-i-las under their leader Meng-ko-t'ieh-mu-erh occupied the Northwest region. In the historical records of Ming, this part of the Mongols were usually called Wa-la, while the Mongols in our eastern parts were called Tartar. After the death of Meng-ko-t'ieh-mu-erh, his territory was divided among three feudal lords: Ma-ha-mu, T'ai-p'ing, and Pa-t'u-pei-lo.**

When Chu Ti, Emperor Ch'engtsu of Ming, succeeded to the throne in 1403 (the 1st year of Yung Lo), an emissary was sent to the various Wa-la tribes to make a proclamation to that effect as well as to bring them many valuable gifts.** Subsequently Governor Ta-ha-t'ieh-mu-erh, military commander Wan-che, and others were sent to these tribes with an imperial edict to "the chieftains of all tribes of Wa-la and other areas." The edict said: "Now that the empire is unified....if you send envoys to establish friendly relations, I will reward them and send them back to their native places to hunt and herd animals....And I will give Ma-ha-mu and others clothes embroidered on both sides."+ In 1408 (6th year of Yung Lo) Ma-ha-mu, prince of the Wa-las, and others sent envoys to the imperial court with a tribute of horses. They also "requested letters of appointment and noble titles."++ In 1409 (7th year of Yung Lo) the Ming government made Ma-ha-mu Prince Shun-ning, Specially Promoted Gold-and-Purple-Sashed Kuang-lu Ta-fu, T'ai-p'ing Prince Hsien-i, Specially Promoted Gold-and-Purple-Sashed Kuang-lu Ta-fu, and Pa-t'u-pei-lo Prince An-lo, Specially Promoted Gold-and-Purple-Sashed Kuang-lu Ta-fu, all "with official seals and imperial letters."+++ After the death of Ma-ha-mu, his son T'o-huan asked to inherit the title. In 1418 (16th year of Yung Lo), the Ming government made T'o-huan Prince Shun-ning.

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* Lobsangdanchin (罗卜藏丹津), Golden History of Mongolia, 2nd and final Vol.

** History of Ming, Vol. 328: "Wa-la."

\+ True Records of T'ai Tsung of Ming, Vol. 11, 8th month, 4th year of Chien Wen.
- ditto - , Vol. 18, 4th month, 1st year of Yung-Lo.
- ditto - , Vol. 28, 4th month, 2nd year of Yung Lo.

++ True Records of T'ai Tsung of Ming, Vol. 59, 10th month of 6th year of Yung Lo.

+++ History of Ming, Vol. 328, "Wa-la"; True Records of T'ai Tsung of Ming, Vol. 63, 5th month, 7th year of Yung Lo.

After the death of T'ai-p'ing in 1426 (the 1st year of Hsuan Te), the Ming emperor ordered his son Nieh-lieh-hu to inherit the title of Prince Hsien-i, and to "exchange envoys as if we are all in the same family."* For more than 100 years beginning from the time of Yung Lo through the reigns of Hsuen Te, Cheng T'ung, Ching T'ai, T'ien Shun and up to Hung Chih, the Ming government appointed large numbers of officials under the leaders of the Wa-las to positions ranging from chief commanding officer, chief commanding secretary and commander to prefectural governors.** The Ming government continued to send officials to give directions to the Wa-las. In 1436 (1st year of Cheng T'ung) the Ming government in a letter to Prince Shun-ning of Wa-la, T'o-huan, said that "the Prince carries on the will of his father by frequently paying tributes."*** Subsequently it even more clearly called Prince Yeh-hsien of Wa-la a "liege lord under the imperial court."+ In 1446 (11th year of Cheng T'ung) Yeh-hsien, who had lost the gold seal with the figure of a camel which the Ming court gave his grandfather Ma-ha-mu, asked the Ming government for a replacement, which request the Ming government "granted."++ At one time, Yeh-hsien rebelled and kidnapped Emperor Ying Tsung of Ming. But even while Ying Tsung was his captive, Yeh-hsien still clearly declared that "he was conducting his affairs on behalf of the Chinese government."+++

For some time during the Ming regime relations between Wa-la tribe and the Hami Wei /commandery/ were quite close. In 1404 (2nd year of Yung Lo) Emperor Ch'eng Tsu of Ming made An-k'o-t'ieh-mu-erh of Hami Prince Chung-shun and gave him a gold sea of office. In 1406 (4th year of Yung Lo) the Hami commandery was established.++++ Its establishment was of particular significance to the Ming government's rule over the various minority nationalities in our western frontier regions. The History of Ming said:

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* True Records of Hsuan Tsung of Ming, Vol. 13, 1st month, 1st year of Hsuan Te.

** See True Records of Ming.

*** True Records of Ying Tsung of Ming, Vol. 21, 8th month, 1st year of Cheng T'ung.

\+ Ibid., Vol. 109, 10th month, 8th year of Cheng T'ung.

++ Ibid., Vol. 147, 11th month, 11th year of Cheng T'ung.

+++ Badrei (巴德雷), Russia, Mongolia and China, Vol. 1, 1919 London ed. p. 44.

++++ History of Ming, Vol. 329: "Western Frontiers 1, Hami Commandery."

As early as the first half of the 2nd century B.C., Wu-sun, a fraternal nationality in the northern grassland of our country, established here a kingdom of slave-owner nobles. In 60 B.C. the Han dynasty of China established an administrative organ here. The central government of T'ang further tightened its rule over this region. Western Liao, Yuan and Ming had all carried out effective administrative control here. The historical fact is clear: the vast region east and south of Lake Balkhash inhabited by the Dzungar tribe has since time immemorial been linked to the central plains regions like flesh and blood, and is part of our territory.

The Dzungar tribe has never formed an independent state. It was a subject tribe of the central imperial court of China. This was the case even in the early years of the 17th century.

Before the Manchus entered Shanhaikuan, the most powerful man of the four Oirat tribes was Ku-shih khan of the Khoshut tribe. He was "the head of the four Wei-la-t'e."* In 1637 (2nd year of Ch'ung Te) Ku-shih khan "sent an envoy with tribute." to the Manchu leader Huang-t'ai-chi. In 1642 (7th year of Ch'ung Te) Ku-shih khan and Tsang-pa khan of Tibet as well as Lamaist leaders Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama "submitted tributes"* to Manchu leader Huang-t'ai-chi.

After the Manchus entered Shanhaikuan, the relations between the various tribes of Oirat Mongols and the Ch'ing dynasty were closer than ever. The assertion by Soviet revisionist hireling writers that the Dzungar tribe "resolutely refused to have any contact with the ruling Ch'ing dynasty in China" is a complete fabrication.

For some time in the early years of the Ch'ing dynasty, the Ch'ing government ruled the various Oirat tribes through the leader of the Khoshut tribe. In 1646 (3rd year of Shun Chih) Emperor Shun Chih gave Ku-shih khan "a suit of armor and bows and arrows, so he may rule all Oirats."* Since then, Ku-shih khan "sent envoys to the imperial court every other year."* In April 1653 (10th year of Shun Chih) the Ch'ing court gave Ku-shih khan the title of "Ku-shih Khan, Quick of Understanding, Observer of Laws and Doer of Righteous Deeds." It also gave him a "gold seal"** inscribed in three languages: Manchu, Han and Mongolian. Other Oirat tribes continued to send envoys to the Ch'ing court with tribute. Other leaders of the Dzungar tribes who sent tribute to the Ch'ing court at the time and who asked Ku-shih khan "to convey their respects" to the Ch'ing emperor included Batur Khungtaiji and his cousins Tu-la-le and Shih-ch'i, his two younger brothers Mo-erh-ken-tai-ch'ing and Ch'u-hu-erh-wu-pa-shih, and his nephew

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* Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 9: "Brief History of Oirats, I."

** Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 9; Nomadic Life in Mongolia, Vol. 12; and Sheng Wu Chi, Vol. 3.

Lo-pu-tsang Hu-t'u-k'o-t'u.* When the Soviet revisionist hireling writer says that "there was not a single instance of communication"** between Batur Khungtaiji and the Ch'ing government, this is nothing but a lie. The submission of Dzungar leaders and their payment of tribute to the Ch'ing court, as well as their maintenance of subordinate relations with the central imperial court of China, are irrefutable historical facts which explode the shameless lie of the Soviet revisionists that a "Dzungar khanate" was formed in the early part of the 17th century.

In 1646 (3rd year of Shun Chih) those who followed Ku-shih khan in pledging allegiance and paying tribute to the Ch'ing government and who asked Ku-shih khan "to convey their respects" to the Ch'ing emperor also included Ho-o-erh-le-k'o, leader of the Torgut tribe which at the time herded their animals at the lower reaches of the Volga, and his sons, Shu-k'u-erh-tai-ch'ing and Lo-pu-tsang-no-yen. The Torgut tribe earlier herded animals in the region of Ya-erh (northwest of T'a-ch'eng). In the 1630's it clashed militarily with the Dzungar tribe and moved westward to the lower reaches of the Volga. In 1655-1657 (12th-14th years of Shun Chih) Shu-k'u-erh-tai-ch'ing, I-le-teng-no-yen (second son of Ho-o-erh-le-k'o), Lo-pu-tsang-no-yen and his son To-erh-chi successively sent envoys to the Ch'ing government with "lists of tributes."*** During the reign of K'ang Hsi, Ayuchi, leader of the Torgut tribe, sent an envoy to Peking to "pay a tribute of local products."+ In 1712 (51st year of K'ang Hsi) the Ch'ing government sent cabinet secretary T'u-li-ch'en and others to the Torgut tribe for a visit. They "returned after three years."++ Ayuchi conveyed to T'u-li-ch'en the affection cherished by the Torgut Mongols for the motherland. He said that Torgut Mongols dressed in the same way as people in the motherland, but "were different in tastes and language" from the Russians. They asked T'u-li-ch'en to "stay for more than ten days, entertained him endlessly," and "presented him with horses and local products."+++ In the 1730's, unable to bear tsarist Russian oppression, the Torguts, led by their leader Wo-pa-hsi, resolutely returned to the motherland after overcoming numerous difficulties and obstacles and trekking more than

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* Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 9: "Brief History of Oirats, I."

** Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate.

*** Draft History of Ch'ing: Border Tribe "Torgut."

\+ See Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 10: "Brief History of Oirat, 2."

++ Draft History of Ch'ing: Border Tribe "Torgut."

+++ See Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 10: "Brief History of Oirat, 2."

10,000 li. This moving historical incident of the Torguts showing passionate love for the motherland proves the inseparable flesh-and-blood relations between the Oirat Mongols and the motherland.

After the death of Batur Khungtaiji of the Dzungar tribe, his son Sengge succeeded him as leader of the Dzungars.
From 1666 (5th year of K'ang Hsi) Sengge paid tribute to the Ch'ing government on many occasions.* In 1671 (10th year of K'ang Hsi) Galdan usurped the khanate of the Dzungars. Galdan called himself khan and ruled independently. He not only subjugated the four Oirat tribes, but also occupied the vast grassland region of the Northwest. In the subsequent period reactionary feudal lords of the Dzungars headed by Galdan, Tsewangrabdan and Amursana, instigated and supported by tsarist Russia, started secessionist rebellion against the motherland several times, and were severely suppressed by the Ch'ing central government.

From the attitude taken by Galdan, leader of the Dzungars who was engaged in criminal activities of secession from the motherland, toward the central government of the Ch'ing, it could also be seen clearly that the Dzungars were a subject people of the Ch'ing court. In 1672 (11th year of K'ang Hsi) Galdan petitioned the Ch'ing government asking to be allowed to follow his brother Sengge's example in "sending envoys and paying tribute to the court as normal practice."** His request granted, Galdan continued to send envoys to pay tribute to the Ch'ing court. In 1679 (18th year of K'ang Hsi) Dalai Lama of our Tibet bestowed on Galdan the title of Boshugtu khan, and Galdan especially "sent an envoy with tribute to inform" the Ch'ing government of this.*** At that time the Ch'ing government repeatedly rebuked Galdan for his "arbitrary assumption of the khan title" and his rebellious intrigues, and precautionary measures were taken. But Galdan again and again declared to the Ch'ing government: "I have not deserted the Emperor of China."+ He also said, "I go the same way and am on the same track as China" and "I have always been within the way and the laws of the Emperor of China and dare not act rashly."++ Galdan's confessions fully prove the Dzungars' subordinate relationship to the Ch'ing government.

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* True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vols. 19, 24, 31.

** Ibid., Vol. 38: 1st month of the 11th year of K'ang Hsi.

*** Wen Ta, Strategy of Pacification of Northern Frontiers Under Personal Imperial Leadership, Vol. 1.

\+ True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 137, 11th month, 27th year of K'ang Hsi.

++ Wen Ta, Strategy of Pacification of Northern Frontiers Under Personal Imperial Leadership, Vol. 7.

The Ch'ing government regularly sent officials to the Dzungar tribe to read "imperial decrees" to the populace and exercise its rights as ruler. In July 1682 (21st year of K'ang Hsi), after having quelled the rebellion of the "three border feudatory states" and unified the central regions, the Ch'ing government sent a court minister, Ch'i-t'a-t'e, and others to the Oirat to reward Galdan with gifts. In his instruction to Galdan, Emperor K'ang Hsi said: "To Galdan, Boshugtu khan: Your father (note: Batur Khungtaiji) and elder brother (note: Sengge) successively and earnestly maintained friendly relations and paid tribute for many years. The tradition has descended on you and you have demonstrated your sincerity by maintaining relations, which is quite commendable. I have always wanted to reward you to show my earnest consideration for you, but have been prevented from doing so by my pressing official duties. Now that peace is restored all over the seas and the land, it is an opportune moment to bestow favors to all. With this in mind I am sending a high minister and his retinue to you with gifts and my blessings for you. Having received these favors, you should show respect and obedience with dedication and all the more goodwill."* This imperial decree effectively showed the Dzungars' subordinate relationship with the Ch'ing government. In 1683 (22nd year of K'ang Hsi), when Ch'i-t'a-t'e and his retinue arrived in Dzungaria, Galdan received them with the respect shown by a subordinate to his sovereign and "received the imperial decree and gifts on his knees."** In a memorial to Emperor K'ang Hsi, Fu-ch'uan, Prince Yü of the Ch'ing court, called Galdan a "chieftain of a small tribe."*** In a decree to Tsewangrabdan, Emperor Yung Cheng wrote: "You, taiji, are only the master of a Dzungar tribe."+ Emperor Ch'ien Lung also told the Dzungars that "I have compassion not only for the Mongols in the interior, but also for your Dzungar tribe."++ All this clearly shows that like other Mongol tribes, the Dzungar tribe maintained a subordinate relationship with the Ch'ing central government.

In 1690 (29th year of K'ang Hsi) Dalai Lama led the various Oirat tribal Mongol taijis, including Galdan, in Tibet in submitting a memorial to K'ang Hsi asking him to assume an honorable title. It said: "/ We /

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* True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 103, 7th month of the 21st year of K'ang Hsi.

** Ibid., Vol. 111, 7th month of the 22nd year of K'ang Hsi.

*** Wen Ta, Strategy of Pacification of Northern Frontiers Under Personal Imperial Leadership, Vol. 8.

\+ True Records of Shih Tsung of Ch'ing, Vol. 17, 3rd month of 2nd year of Yung Cheng.

++ True Records of Kao Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 12, 2nd month of 1st year of Ch'ien Lung.

respectfully offer your imperial majesty the title of the Excellent Emperor Wen Shu, the Compassionate, the Savior of Mankind, Pacifier of Strife, Giver of Blessings and Supreme Sage. Congratulations from your sincere servants."* This act further showed the support of the Oirat tribes for the Ch'ing central government.

The Ch'ing government laid down unified rules for the administration of tribute from the Oirat Mongols and Khalkha Mongols. In 1651 (8th year of Shun Chih) the Ch'ing government specified rewards for tribute-bearers from Oirat Mongols and Khalkha Mongols. Rewards specified for tribute-bearers from the Oirat Mongols were: "First class rewards: one piece of superior quality satin embroidered with a dragon design, one piece of satin for hats, one piece of p'eng satin, 24 bolts of plain cloth, and one silver teapot weighing 30 taels."** In addition, concrete rewards for the tribute-bearing envoy's retinue, including minor taijis, t'a-pu-lang and other officials, were also specified. In 1685 (24th year of K'ang Hsi) regulations concerning tribute-bearers from the four Wei-la-t'e tribes were formulated.*** K'ang Hsi believed that Oirat Mongols and Khalkha Mongols "have always been friendly to each other and never ceased to pay tribute to this court"+ and that "I have received them with equality and without any partiality in their continual tribute-paying missions."++

It was because the Dzungars had such flesh-and-blood political, economic and cultural relations with the people of the interior that any secessionist and rebellious action was bound to be opposed by the broad masses of people. After Galdan started his secessionist rebellion against the motherland, people of the Dzungar tribe went to the interior in large numbers. Many upper-level nobles also led whole branches of their tribe to the interior. "The tribes disintegrated, and well known princes and their tribes came to the interior one after another."+++ This amply demonstrated that the broad masses of the Dzungars loved their

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* Wen Ta, Strategy of Pacification of Northern Frontiers Under Personal Imperial Leadership, Vol. 8.

** True Records of Shih Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 54, 2nd (intercalary) month of 8th year of Shun Chih.

*** Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 9: "Brief History of Oirats, I."

\+ Wen Ta, Strategy of Pacification of Northern Frontiers Under Personal Imperial Leadership, Vol. 1.

++ Defense of the Northern Wilderness, Vol. 3, "Brief Account of Coming Over of Khalkha."

+++ Map of Western Frontier Region, Vol. 1 (Part II).

motherland intensely and that many Dzungar nobles of the upper level were willing to accept the rule of the Ch'ing central government. The Ch'ing government indicated its welcome to the Oirat Mongols who fled to the interior, and proceeded to resettle them. In September 1696 (35th year of K'ang Hsi), for example, "some 1,500 adults and children" of the Oirat tribe were resettled at Changchiak'ou at one time.* After the 1st year of Ch'ien Lung in particular, large numbers of Oirat Mongols fled to the interior in succession. In 1753 (18th year of Ch'ien Lung) the three major taijis of the Derbet tribe, the so-called "three Ch'e-lengs"--Ch'e-leng, Ch'e-leng Meng-k'o and Ch'e-leng Wu-pa-shih--led their subjects to go over to the Ch'ing court. They brought with them more than 5,000 families consisting of tens of thousands of people.** Emperor Ch'ien Lung gave a banquet for the "three Ch'e-leng" in the Wanshu Park in his summer lodge in Ch'eng-te. The Ch'ing government gave the "three Ch'e-lengs" respectively the titles of Prince Ho-shih, To-lo Pei-le and Prefectural Prince To-lo. The following year the people brought by the "three Ch'e-lengs" were organized into banners and a league established in accordance with the rules governing Inner Mongolia and Khalkha Mongols.+

In the Ch'ing times the economic relations between the Dzungars and the central regions were developed more extensively than in Ming times. In 1686 (25th year of K'ang Hsi) the Ch'ing government ruled that the four major taijis of the Oirat tribe such as Galdan might come to Peking to trade, while other minor taijis could trade at Changchiak'ou. For this, "formal regulations were laid down."++ Leaders of the Dzungars regularly "paid tribute to and inquired after the health of the emperor, and begged to be allowed to trade as usual." Economic intercourse between the Dzungars and the central regions was not only shown in increased volumes of trade controlled by the Ch'ing government, but economic exchanges between the Dzungar people and the people of various nationalities of the central regions also became increasingly frequent. The Ch'ing government once

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* True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 176, 9th month, 35th year of K'ang Hsi.

** Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 12, "Brief History of Oirat, 4"; True Records of Kao Tsung of Ch'ing, Vol. 451, 11th month, 18th year of Ch'ien Lung.

\+ Map of Western Frontier Region, Vol. 37, "Creation of Nobles 1"; Brief History of Border Tribes of the Empire, Vol. 12, "Brief History of Oirat, 4."

++ True Records of Sheng Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 127, 9th month, 25th year of K'ang Hsi.

established in Su-chou, Hami and other places "civilian markets" under government supervision. For example, in April 1743 (8th year of Ch'ien Lung), Pa-pu, a subordinate official of Galdantseren, leader of the Dzungars, brought "over 2,000 sheep to trade with the military and civilian population" in Su-chou.* In 1744 (9th year of Ch'ien Lung) Dzungar traders came to Su-chou at one time with animals "worth over 40,000 taels of silver."** In January 1751 (16th year of Ch'ien Lung) Dzungar traders brought furs and skins to Su-chou worth "more than 186,200 taels of silver."+ In July 1752 (17th year of Ch'ien Lung) the Dzungars brought as many as 60,000 head of sheep alone to Su-chou for trade.++ All of this showed the inseparable economic relations between the Dzungar people and the people of various nationalities of the central plain regions.

History eloquently proves that the relationship between the Dzungar tribe and our central dynasties was one between a subordinate local region and the central government within a state. The Soviet revisionists assert that the Dzungar tribe never had intercourse with the Ch'ing government, that Dzungaria was a "sovereign state" independent of China, that economic relations between the Dzungars and the central plain regions "were severed for about 200 years," and so on and so forth. These are nothing but lies with ulterior motives, wilful distortions of history.

III. The Soviet Revisionist Alteration of the Criminal History of Old Tsars' Aggression Against Our Dzungar Tribe Is Designed To Create Public Opinion in Favor of New Aggressive Schemes

The Soviet revisionist renegade group and their hireling writers also declare falsely that China under the Manchus committed "aggression" against

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* True Records of Kao Tsung of Ch'ing, Vol. 190, 4th intercalary month of the 8th year of Ch'ien Lung.

** True Records of Kao Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 213, 3rd month, 9th year of Ch'ien Lung.

\+ True Records of Kao Tsu of Ch'ing, Vol. 381, 1st month of 16th year of Ch'ien Lung.

++ "Memorandum from Huang T'ing-kuei, Governor of Shensi-Kansu, dated the 5th day, 7th month, 17th year of Ch'ien Lung," 10-Day Journal on Historical Data, No. 27, case of trade with Dzungar barbarians.

"the Dzungar khanate."* They shamelessly claim that tsarist Russia was the "protector" of the Dzungar tribe. Who after all was the aggressor? This is a cardinal question of right and wrong which must be made clear through debate.

Lenin pointed out: "For many centuries the tsarist government had always wanted to seize Constantinople and large parts of Asia."** Tsarist Russia regarded the Asiatic continent long ago as an important target of its aggressive expansion. In the second half of the 16th century, Ivan IV, the first tsar in Russian history, conquered the Kazan khanate and Astrakhan khanate one after the other, placing the Volga basin under his rule. Subsequently, tsarist Russia vigorously expanded toward Siberian lands by means of political bribery and piece-meal armed encroachment. In the early 17th century, it gradually stretched its aggressive claws to the region of the Dzungar tribe in western China from Tobolsk and other bases of aggression in Siberia. The historical facts are as clear as daylight. The aggressor against our Dzungar tribe was none other than tsarist Russia which stretched its devil's hands from Europe to Asia and carried out aggressive expansion everywhere in its pursuit of world hegemony.

The aggression against our various Oirat Mongol tribes and their territory by the tsarist Russian government, which represented the interests of the extremely greedy and cruel Russian serf-owner class, was extremely frenzied and ignoble. Its policy of aggression against our Dzungar tribe was a counter-revolutionary two-handed policy that was alternately soft and hard. Files in tsarist Russian archives of 1613 and 1616 show that the tsar's "imperial orders" of aggression against our Dzungar tribe were: Either "pursue a policy of appeasement" and "do everything possible to secure the fealty of this nation;" "or subjugate them" and force them "to accept Russian suzerainty or rule." In the early years of the 17th century, or the last years of the Ming dynasty, tsarist Russia, taking advantage of the decline of power of the central government of Ming, brazenly attacked the nomadic tribes of our Oirat Mongols. The Oirats courageously resisted the aggression of tsarist Russia. In 1607, they formed a force of 5,000 men with the Tartar Mongols and severely mauled 200 attacking Cossacks of

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* For example, China's Modern History edited by Tikhvinskiy; Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate; B.P. Gulevich (古列维奇), "The Manchu Empire's of Intrusion into Central Asia and Russia in Late 18th Century," carried in Soviet History, No. 2, 1973; G.F. Mailiehov (格·符·麦列霍夫), "Manchu China's Expansion in Amur Basin and Central Asia in 17th-18th Centuries," carried in Soviet Historical Problems, No. 7, 1974, etc.

** Lenin, "Negotiating for Peace Alone," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 23, p. 125.

tsarist Russia, wiping out this group of invaders. In this same period, to oppose the seizure of a salt lake by tsarist Russian invaders, the Dzungar people waged resolute struggle against them. They "declared that the lake belong to us, and we have occupied it."* In that same year, while tsarist Russia was carrying out armed aggression against our Dzungar tribe, General Gagarin of T'a-la city, acting in accordance with the wishes of the tsar, sent a "delegation" to the Derbet and Torgut tribes of our Oirat Mongols who were then herding their animals in the area of the Irtysh basin. This tsarist Russian "delegation" vainly tried to persuade or force the feudal lords of Derbet and Torgut to "change their nationality to Russia." In March 1609, tsarist Russia again sent a "delegation" from T'a-la headed by Kolupin (戈鲁平) to the pasture lands of our Oirat Mongols to urge and force the feudal lords of our Oirat tribes to "take an oath of allegiance to the tsar....and pay tax in kind at regular intervals," etc. A-pai Ko-she-fu-ch'i, a feudal lord of the Oirat tribes, called a conference of representatives of some of the feudal lords, at which these representatives firmly opposed and resolutely "rejected" the unreasonable tsarist Russian demand.** Disappointed, Kolupin and his party returned to Russia.

Subsequently, Tsar Mihail Feodorovich in 1616 promulgated an "imperial edict" "ordering" Duke I.S. Kulakin (伊·谢·库拉金) of Tobolsk to send emissaries to "contact the various taijis of Khalmuck (meaning the Oirat Mongols)" and force them to accept tsarist Russian rule. This Kulakin sent "emissaries" in 1616 and again in 1617 to our country's Oirat tribes to carry out underhand schemes and activities. In 1616 he sent T. Petrov and I. Kunitsen (库尼墫) to the Oirat tribes. These two aggressive elements came to the pasture lands of Batur Khungtaiji of the Dzungars, Dalai Taiji of the Derbet tribe, and other important taijis of the Oirats, persuading and energetically inducing the Oirats to become "His Imperial Majesty the Tsar's vassals."+ In 1617 he sent Ivan Saviliyev (萨维利耶夫) and others to the Oirats. In accordance with the "conditions named" by the tsar, they "negotiated" with the feudal lords of the Oirats in an attempt to induce "the great taiji Batur and all Khalmucks" to become the "subject people" of the tsar.++ The unreasonable demand of the tsarist Russian aggressors was twice rejected by the Batur Khungtaiji and others of the Oirats. Tsarist Russia's attempt to annex our Oirats was frustrated.

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* Badrei, Russia, Mongolia and China, Vol. 2, pp. 33-35.

** See Zlatkin, History of Dzungar Khanate, Chap. II, Section 2, quotation from Historical Materials of Russo-Mongolian Relations (1607-1636).

\+ Badrei, Russia, Mongolia and China, Vol. 2, p. 37.

++ Russian Archives Office: "Files on Khalmuck Affairs," No. 2, Jan. 12, 1618. see Russia, Mongolia and China, Vol. 2, pp. 41-43.

Although tsarist Russia failed repeatedly to gobble up our Oirats, it refused to give up. In 1666 the tsarist Russian government sent a Bavir Gurvinsky (巴维尔·库尔文斯基) "delegation" to the Sengge taiji and his uncle Shukur (书库尔) taiji of the Dzungar tribe. They presented Sengge and Shukur with "gifts from the tsar and urged them to declare allegiance to Russia."* Learning that the "delegation" wanted to make him a vassal to Russia, Shukur was very angry and refused to receive it. Instead he sent his subordinates to tell the "delegation" to "leave at once." But the aggressive elements refused. They stayed there until April 1667, when Shukur finally received them. The tsarist Russian "delegation" unreasonably demanded that he accept the tsar's official letter and gifts according to Russian ceremony. Shukur angrily condemned this insulting and provocative act, and declared righteously: "Am I a vassal of the tsar?... As a taiji, I cannot tolerate such an insult! Get out and go back to Tomsk! Take back the tsar's letter and gifts too!"** Sengge treated the tsarist Russian "delegation" in a similar manner. Shukur and others not only did not accede to the demand that they pledge allegiance to tsarist Russia, but instead sternly demanded in the face of the tsarist Russian "delegation" that tsarist Russia return their subject people who fled Dzungar territory to Russia.+ In 1667, when Sengge sent tax collectors to Krasnoyarsk, Tomsk and other areas to collect tax in kind from his Dzungar subjects, they were attacked by tsarist Russian colonial troops. With the support of the masses of people of the Dzungar tribe, Sengge "rose bravely in self-defense" and gave the local tsarist colonial troops a sound thrashing.++ The aggressive activities of the tsarist gangsters were again frustrated.

Beginning from the late 17th century and the early 18th century, the tsarist government began to intensify its aggression against our Dzungar region, alternately employing the two-handed tactic of inciting rebellion and armed encroachment. On the one hand it supported the reactionary feudal lords of the Dzungar tribe in their secessionist and rebellious activities and urged them to "switch their allegiance" to tsarist Russia; on the other hand it despatched large numbers of troops to occupy their territory directly by military means. It could not be more frenzied!

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* Badrei, Russia, Mongolia and China, Vol. 2, p. 180.

** Russian Archives Office: "Files on Mongolian Affairs," Vol. 3, report by Kurvinsky on his mission in 1667. Quoted in Russia, Mongolia and China, Vol. 2, p. 182.

\+ Russia, Mongolia and China, pp. 183-187.

++ See History of Dzungar Khanate, Chap. III, Section 2, quoted from Russian files.

Toward the end of the 17th century tsarist Russia supported Galdan's secessionist and rebellious activities in an attempt to dismember our country and occupy our Dzungar region by the vicious means of internal subversion. Resolutely maintaining the unity of the Ch'ing domain, Emperor K'ang Hsi swiftly quelled Galdan's rebellion, dealing a heavy blow to the aggressive schemes of tsarist Russia.

In the early 18th century, Tsar Peter I sent in 1714 an aggressive army headed by Lt-Col. Bukholts in a scheme to seize a large area of our territory from the upper reaches of Irtysh River to Yarkand River. In 1715, an aggressive force of about 3,000 men led by Bukholts invaded the area of Lake Yameish (雅梅什) within the domain of our Dzungar tribe, forcibly establishing a base of military aggression at Yameishef (雅梅舍夫). The army and the people of the Dzungar tribe resolutely fought the tsarist aggressors. Supported by the Dzungar people, Tseringdorb (策凌敦多卜) led an army of nearly 10,000 men to encircle the tsarist military base from February to April, 1716, dealing an effective blow to the enemy. Tsarist "reinforcements" despatched from Tobolsk were also all captured.* In 1920, Peter I ordered Likhalev (利哈利夫) to lead a force of more than 400 men from Tobolsk to intrude again into the area east of Lake Chai-sang in the domain of our Dzungar tribe. The invaders immediately met with stubborn "armed resistance" from the Dzungar military and civilian population. Unable to gain a foothold there, Likhalev and his men were forced to flee toward Tobolsk.** The many attacks on the Dzungar region by tsarist forces of aggression were repulsed by the military and civilian population of our Dzungar tribe. The Dzungar people developed the Chinese nation's glorious tradition of resistance to foreign aggression and defended the northwestern frontier of the motherland.

After repeated setbacks to his naked military invasions, the ambitious Peter I even more brazenly supported and instigated the secessionist and rebellious activities of the reactionary noble lords of the Dzungar tribe in an effort to attain his criminal object of annexing our Dzungar region. In 1722 Peter sent a "delegation" headed by Venhuofusky (温闊南斯基) to the Dzungar tribe with the mission of persuading Tsewangrabdan, leader of the Dzungar tribe, to declare "formal allegiance" to Russia and "cede some of his territory."*** This Russian "delegation" told Tsewangrabdan that

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* See History of Dzungar Khanate, Chap. V, Section 1; and Gaston Kann (加恩) (French), History of Early Sino-Russian Relations, Chap. VIII.

** History of Dzungar Khanate, Chap. V, Section 1; Babukov (巴布科夫), Memoires of My Service in West Siberia, Part 3, Chap. I.

*** Gaston Kann, History of Early Sino-Russian Relations, pp. 80-81.

if he pledged allegiance to Russia, the tsar would "protect him as he protects his own subjects," so he might "avoid being attacked by others."* Apart from political inducement and deceit, the Russians also resorted to material bribery to "urge Tsewangrabdan to become a Russian vassal" by "presenting him with gifts and rewarding his subordinates."** Tsewangrabdan's armed rebellion as well as that of Amursana in mid-18th century, were supported by the tsarist aggressors.+ The Ch'ing government successively quelled the secessionist rebellions of reactionary noble lords Tsewangrabdan and Amursana of the Dzungar tribe who conspired with tsarist Russia, causing the tsarist scheme to annex our Dzungar region to fail ignominiously and consolidating the unity of the motherland. The Ch'ing government's suppression of the secessionist rebellions among the Dzungars was an internal problem of China, which was entirely different from the conquest of one country by another.

We have recalled here only briefly the history of tsarist Russia's aggression against our Dzungar region from early 17th century to mid-18th century. In this century and more alone, the aggressive activities of tsarist Russia in the Dzungar region were already filled with crimes impossible to describe in their entirety, let alone the act of robbery by which tsarist Russia seized more than 500,000 sq. km. of our northwestern territory after the 19th century.

In view of these iron-clad historical facts, even Zlatkin, who specially cooked up History of the Dzungar Khanate, had to admit that what tsarist Russia did in the Dzungar region at that time was to strive to "turn the princes and rulers of Wei-la-t'e into Russian vassals, the inhabitants under them into subjects paying tax in kind to Russia, and their lands into Russian territory."++ The question is: Why do the Soviet revisionist renegade group and their hireling writers, including this Zlatkin, deliberately tamper with the criminal history of the old tsars' aggression against our Dzungar tribe? Why do they take so much pains to defend the ignoble acts of the old tsars? They do so for no other purpose than that of defending the ignoble acts of today's new tsars and creating public opinion for new aggressive schemes of the Soviet revisionists. The Soviet revisionist historical circles have published voluminous writings and books on the history of the Dzungar tribe, not

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* History of Dzungar Khanate, Chap. V, Section 1, quoting Russian files on Dzungar.

** Gaston Kann, History of Early Sino-Russian Relations, pp. 80-81.

\+ See Zlatkin, Modern and Contemporary History of Mongolia, 1957 Moscow edition, Chaps. 3-4.

++ See History of Dzungar Khanate, Chap. III, Section 1.

to engage in "academic research" but to serve the new tsars in pushing their social-imperialist policy of expansion and create an historical basis for aggression against our Sinkiang region.

In their research on the "Dzungar question," Soviet revisionist historians are doing their best to distort, falsify and alter history. For example, Zlatkin's History of the Dzungar Khanate is a representative work that totally, systematically falsifies, distorts and alters the true history of our Dzungar tribe. Even Soviet revisionist historians themselves have to admit in their review of the book that "the book is a house built on shaky foundations" and that it "often makes hasty, unfounded conclusions."* Other Soviet revisionist works on the history of the Dzungar tribe are even worse. Engels once pointed out: "The bourgeoisie changes everything into commodity, and this is also true with the science of history. The nature of the bourgeoisie and the conditions for its existence are such that it has to forge all commodities, including history. The more a historical work is forged to conform to the interests of the bourgeoisie, the more it will be rewarded."** The great pains taken today by some writers in the pay of the Soviet revisionists to falsify history can only show to what extent their so-called "historical research" has stooped!

Lies written in ink cannot change iron-clad historical facts. In the recent century the imperialists, including tsarist Russian imperialists, have distorted and altered Chinese history in a big way to serve their policy of aggression against China. But one after the other they have been swept into the garbage dump of history. Echoing imperialists of the past, the Soviet revisionists today are playing the same trick, but they too will certainly not be able to avoid the fate of utter failure!

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END

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* "Discussion on the Book on History of Dzungars," carried in Soviet Asian-African Nations, No. 4, 1967.

** Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. XVI, p. 573.

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